As soon as they had seized power and before they had time to organize and consolidate their forces, our people were faced with an extremely difficult and complex situation. A terrifying famine caused by the French colonialists and Japanese fascists was still threatening our people. Our country was economically and financially insolvent. At that same moment, 200,000 troops of Chiang Kai-shek, carrying out an order from the U.S. imperialists, moved into North Vietnam ostensibly to disarm the Japanese army but actually with the intention of carrying out a scheme to wipe out our party, to destroy the Viet Minh, and to help the reactionary elements in our country overthrow the people's government and establish a reactionary government which would serve as the lackey of the United States and Chiang Kai-shek. In South Vietnam, hiding behind the British army, the French colonialists returned to once again occupy our country. President Ho accepted his heavy responsibility to the people: "My duty is like that of a ship captain who must manage to bring the ship of the fatherland through the tempests and safely to the shore of happiness for the people." (49)

He appealed to the people to increase their solidarity, to combat hunger, to combat ignorance, and to combat foreign aggression, and he set forth the slogan "the resistance war plus national construction."

In order to carry out the main task at that time of firmly maintaining revolutionary power, President Ho raised the issue of organizing, the sooner the better, general elections and elections for the National Assembly, establishing an official government and promulgating a democratic constitution in order to give the people confidence in the new regime. The government elected by the people would have an incontestable legal value to the world. On 6 January 1946, general elections were successfully carried out nation-wide. All our people showed their special confidence in President Ho. On 2 March 1946, during the first session of the National Assembly, he was elected President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. On 9 November 1946, the National Assembly approved the first constitution of the DRV, affirming our people's right of ownership of the country and their liberties and democratic rights.

In order to provide urgent and practical benefits to the people, especially to the workers and farmers, President Ho suggested that the government abolish the French colonialists' system of taxation, promulgate labor laws to protect the rights of the workers, stipulate a 25 percent reduction in land rents for the peasants, divide up the land of the French colonialists and the Vietnamese traitors, and divide up the public land and give it to the peasants who did not have land. He launched a campaign to increase production, viewing that as an urgent
measure for combatting hunger. He also called upon the compatriots to give rice and share their clothing and set an example for everyone to follow: "When we lift a bowl of rice to eat and think of the hungry people, we cannot avoid becoming nauseated. Therefore, I make a recommendation to the compatriots throughout the country and I will be the first to carry it out: abstain from one meal every 10 days or three meals per month. Take that rice (one can per meal) and use it to save the poor people."(50) On the occasion of Golden Week, he called upon all strata of the people to make sacrifices and to struggle to support the government in order to develop finances and the national defense.

President Ho was very concerned about raising the cultural level of the people. He launched a movement to eliminate illiteracy. He mobilized the people to achieve a new life and taught our cadres and people the idea of frugality and honesty and erased the backward ideas and habits of the colonialist and feudal system so that our people would be worthy of an independent Vietnam. He looked after the children of the fatherland. In a letter sent to students at the opening of the school year and in a letter sent to children on the occasion of the Mid-Autumn Festival, he urged teenagers and children to try to study in order to develop the fatherland in the future.

In accordance with President Ho's idea, in May 1946, the Ho Lien Hiep Quoc Dan Viet Nam (the Vietnamese National Federation -- called the Lien Viet for short) was established in order to expand the great all-people solidarity block and join hands with political parties and democratic personages and patriots who had just joined the United National Front. The patriotic tradition of all the people was vigorously awakened and our people clearly revealed their solidarity and unanimity around the government headed by President Ho. This was an invincible power for combatting the enemy abroad and the enemy at home.

Forced to simultaneously contend with many enemies, President Ho and the Party Central Committee, after the August Revolution, realized that the most dangerous enemy at that time was French colonialism. He adopted very clever and flexible strategem and, based on the principle of maintaining sovereignty and national independence, reached a temporary accord with the Chiang Kai-shek army in order to maintain power and free his hands to deal with the French army in South Vietnam. On the one hand, he conceded to the Chiang Kai-shek army a number of political and economic interests. On the other hand, using the power of the all-people solidarity bloc, he defeated every dark scheme of theirs and punished the Vietnamese Quoc Ban Dang (Nationalist Party), the lackey of Chiang Kai-shek, which revealed itself to be a saboteur of the revolution. At the same time, President Ho and the Party Central Committee intensified the development of the armed forces and mobilized the people throughout the country to support the resistance war of the South Vietnamese kinsmen. At the end of February 1946, following orders
from the U.S. imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek army reached an agreement permitting the French army to come into North Vietnam to replace them. In order to avoid moving directly into a nation-wide war against many enemies at the same time before getting ready for it, President Ho reached a temporary accord with the French army through the Preliminary Agreement of 6 March 1946. As a result of that agreement, we drove the Chiang Kai-shek army out of North Vietnam, purged their lackeys, and also disrupted the scheme of the U.S. imperialists. The signing of the preliminary agreement also created extremely valuable time for building and consolidating forces and preparing in every way for the national resistance war against the French colonialists. The compatriots of Xam Bo skillfully used their opportunity to build up and expand their forces.

On 31 May 1946, President Ho left to visit France as a distinguished guest of the French Government. During his stay in France, President Ho met with all strata of the French people and with the Vietnamese living abroad. He sought to propagandize and clarify the righteous struggle of our people, to win the sympathy and support of the French people, and to raise the prestige of the DRV in the international arena. He demonstrated the peaceful goodwill of our people based on the principle of defending national sovereignty: "Nam Bo is a part of Vietnam and no person has the right to divide it and no force can divide it." (51) Because of the stubborn and bellicose attitude of the French colonialists, the official talks between our government's delegation, led by Pham Van Dong, and the delegation of the French Government at Fontainebleau did not succeed. President Ho signed a temporary accord with the French Government on 14 September 1946 in order to win time to continue to develop the forces and prepare for the national resistance war, something he was certain would erupt.

President Ho, confronted by extremely serious dangers, led our party like a calm, clear-sighted, shrewd, valiant, and experienced helmsman and brought the ship of the Vietnamese revolution through every dangerous tide. The facts proved that the political line of President Ho and the Party Central Committee was very enlightened: Rely on the power of the all-people solidarity bloc, firmly adhere to the strategic guideline of being rigid in regard to principles and flexible in regard to strategies, skillfully exploit the contradictions in the enemy ranks in order to divide them, thoroughly isolate the most dangerous elements, and create the conditions for maintaining and consolidating revolution power and preparing the forces for a prolonged war of resistance against the invading French colonialists.

In the face of brazenly aggressive actions by the French colonialists, on 19 December 1946 war spread throughout the country. On 20 December 1946, President Ho issued his National Resistance War Appeal: "...We want peace and we have already made concessions. But the more concessions we make, the more the French colonialists encroached upon us because they are determined to steal our country again. No! We would rather sacrifice
everything than agree to the loss of the country and we definitely will not submit to slavery.

"Compatriots! We must stand up!

"Every Vietnamese, whether man or woman, whether old or young, and irrespective of religious faiths, political party, or nationality, must stand up to save the French colonialists and save the fatherland.

"Those who have guns should use the guns and those who have swords should use the swords. If you do not have a sword use a pick or a shovel. Everyone must combat the colonialists and save the nation."(52)

That grand appeal of President Ho exposed the savage aggressive designs of the French colonialists, demonstrated the determination of our people to resist to the end, and listed the basic features of our party's protracted resistance war program and people's war line. He affirmed that the resistance war would have to be long and arduous but that it was certain of victory. In order for the resistance war to be victorious, it would be necessary to rely on the people in order to carry out an all-people and all-encompassing resistance war.

The people's war idea of President Ho was clearly embodied in the directive of the Party Central Committee on 22 December 1946 entitled All-People Resistance War. In order to explain the resistance war line and program of the party, Truong Chinh, the Secretary General of the Party, in early 1947 wrote a book entitled Khong Chien Nhat Din Thang Loi ("The Resistance War is Certain to be Victorious"). The line on a protracted, all-people, all-encompassing, and self-reliant resistance war and the three stages of the resistance war (defensive, active resistance, and general counteroffensive) were widely communicated to the cadres, troops, and people, increasingly strengthening the determination and confidence of all our people to resolutely fight until final victory is achieved.

After the Viet Bac victory, President Ho, in June 1948, in order to mobilize all of the resistance war forces, issued the Patriotic Emulation Appeal: for emulation to wipe out hunger, ignorance, and foreign aggression, for emulation to carry out the all-people resistance war and the all-encompassing resistance war, for the front line to emulate to wipe out the enemy and for the rear area to emulate to produce and to save, implementing the slogan "Everything for the front line and everything for victory." He mobilized all strata of the people to participate in the emulation movement:
"All the people emulate,  
All sectors emulate,  
Emulate every day.  
We are certain to win,  
The enemy is certain to lose."(53)

The working class displayed its vanguard role in the patriotic emulation movement. The peasant class, taking a firm position on its front, enthusiastically produced and achieved economies in order to contribute much manpower and materiel to the front line. President Ho shared the bitter and the sweet with our cadres, fighters, and people. He visited and motivated the elderly, the women, the youth, the teenagers, the children, the compatriots of the ethnic minorities, the intellectuals, the artists, and so forth, to enthusiastically emulate and to contribute their talents and energies to the resistance war and national construction effort.

The patriotic emulation movement took place continuously and fervently. It became a motive force propelling the resistance war of all the people. Through the emulation movement, President Ho taught and developed the new people, symbolized by the emulation heroes and fighters and the exemplary cadres. They are the beautiful flowers of revolutionary heroism nurtured by President Ho.

President Ho constantly devoted his attention to consolidating and developing the party. He compared the party to an electrical generator. If the generator is strong, the lights will be bright. If the party is strong, the resistance war and national construction tasks would go well. In order to strengthen the leadership role of the party, President Ho made it clear that the party must be strong, pure, and exemplary and that the entire party must be unanimous in thought, organization, and action. He made it clear that cadres and party members must resolutely execute all of the policies of the party and government, must maintain close contact with the masses, must follow the mass line, and must carry out criticisms and self-criticisms. He also made it clear that in order to achieve the revolutionary goals, it would not be sufficient to have organization but that the cadres and party members would have to achieve real solidarity and mutual love, serve the party and the people with all their hearts, have revolutionary enthusiasm, and have fine qualities and ethics. In March 1947, he wrote "Letter to the Comrades of Bac Bo" and later wrote the "Letter to the Comrades of Trung Bo," appealing to the cadres and party members to devote all of their spirit and forces to leading all of the people toward one goal: that of driving out the French colonialists and achieving a unified and independent country. He criticized the shortcomings of the cadres and party members such as parochialism, factionalism, militarism, bureaucracy, narrow-mindedness, infatuation with forms and paperwork, lack of discipline, selfishness, and corruption. In October 1947, he wrote the book entitled Sua Boi.
Loi Lam Viec ("Modifying the Methods of Operation") as a document for cadres and party members to use in developing their thinking, ethics, and lifestyle. He listed the 12 points of party development and the five points of revolutionary ethics: humanity, righteousness, determination, courage, and honesty. "Like a river which must have a source in order to have water and which will dry up unless it has a source and like a tree which must have routes and which will wither without them, the revolutionary must have ethics or else he will not be able to lead the people no matter how talented he is."(54) He made it clear that the revolutionary ethics are new ethics and great ethics, not orientated toward individual reputation but toward the common interest of the party, of the people, and of mankind.

Widely disseminated and studied, the aforementioned documents made a very large contribution to the reform and ideological development of cadres and party members. They made the cadres and party members become revolutionaries loyal to the work of the party and of the people, and they contributed to the resistance war and national construction efforts.

In order to carry out a people's war, President Ho and the Party Central Committee devoted special attention to developing three types of troops in the armed forces: main force troops, local force troops, and militia and guerrilla troops. They constitute the nucleus of the armed struggle of all the people. President Ho emphasized the strategic role of the militia and guerrilla forces: "The militia, self-defense, and guerrilla forces are the force of all the people, an invincible force, a steel wall of the fatherland. No matter how cruel the enemy is, when it collides against that force and that wall, it will disintegrate."(55) In order to step up the people's war, the three types of troops must rely on the people, stick close to the people, and closely coordinate with one another. The armed forces must both fight the enemy militarily and fight the enemy politically and economically.

In the development of the armed forces, President Ho devoted special attention to political and ideological education in order to make our armed forces really be an army of the people, trusted, admired, and loved by the people. He regularly reminded us that the armed forces come from the people and fight for the people and that the "army and people are like fish and water" and, therefore, that it is necessary to protect the life and property of the people. The troops must help the people in the areas where they are billeted to increase production. When they are fighting, the armed forces must be valiant, shrewd, and flexible, and must emulate to seize the guns of the enemy in order to kill the enemy, wipe out the enemy manpower, and develop our forces. President Ho visited many military units, attended conferences summarizing campaigns, and wrote letters inquiring about and motivating cadres.
and fighters. Confronted by difficulties, he provided guidelines for the troops. In the face of victory, he reminded the troops not to be subjective or complacent but to seek to expand upon the victories and to win greater victories. President Ho constantly devoted his attention to the material and spiritual life of the armed forces. He set forth the program on "selling rice to reward the troops" in order to mobilize the forces of the people to serve the front line and to care for the troops and, thereby, intensify the resistance war. He looked after the wounded soldiers and the families of soldiers killed in action and instructed all echelons of the government and appealed to the people to help the wounded soldiers and the families of soldiers killed in action to resolve their difficulties in life. Educated and cared for by President Ho and the Party Central Committee, the people's armed forces, starting with a small force, developed rapidly and became a powerful force, defeating all of the military plans of the enemy.

Along with the military victories of our army and people, the people's democratic government, carrying out the historic task of the worker-peasant dictatorship, was further consolidated, clearly demonstrating its power. Not only in the free areas but also in the areas under temporary enemy occupation, our people always looked to "Ho's government." President Ho realized that the government must really belong to the people and be elected by the people in order to serve the people. On the one hand, it is necessary to strengthen the leadership of the party over the government, and the representatives of the workers and peasants must occupy an appropriate percentage of the positions at all levels of the government. On the other hand, the government agencies must have the character of a broad front which symbolizes all strata of the people. He regularly urged the cadres and officials of the government to both be representatives and loyal servants of the people, to serve the people with all their heart throughout their lives, to set an example in carrying out the policies of the government, to develop the virtues of industriousness, frugality, honesty, righteousness, and complete impartiality, and to combat bureaucracy, waste, and corruption. He also reminded government cadres to study and to constantly elevate their political, cultural, and professional levels in order to provide increasingly better service to the people.

The resistance war of our people is an integral part of the world revolutionary movement. Therefore, President Ho always advocated the strengthening of international solidarity. He made it clear that the Vietnamese people must unite with the working class and people of France and win over the sympathy and support of the Soviet Union, China, the other socialist countries, the peoples of colonial countries, and peace-loving peoples throughout the world. On 14 January 1950, President Ho announced his readiness to establish diplomatic relations with countries which respected the equal rights and sovereignty of the DRV. Right after that, the Soviet Union, China, and other people's democracies one
after another recognized and established diplomatic relations with our country. President Ho taught our cadres and people to closely combine genuine patriotism with international proletarianism, to elevate the spirit of self-reliance, to develop the positivism, initiative, and creativity of our army and people in combat and in production, and to combat notions of dependency on and of waiting for foreign assistance.

Based on the victories already achieved and in order to consolidate and expand the Viet Bac great base and link our country with fraternal countries, President Ho and the Party Central Committee in September 1950 decided to launch a border campaign. It was the first time our army conducted such a large campaign. President Ho instructed the armed forces to emulate to "kill the invaders and score achievements" and to resolutely win victory. He covered countless miles, personally went out to the front, and directly participated in guiding the military operations. His presence at the front was an extremely great source of encouragement to our army and people to move ahead and complete their tasks in a proud manner.

After the victory of the border campaign and in order to strengthen the leadership of the party in every respect with a view to intensifying the resistance war, the Second National Congress of Representatives of the Party was held in the Viet Bac great base area in January 1951. President Ho made it clear: "Our congress is a resistance war congress. The primary task of our congress is to propel the resistance war to complete victory and to develop the Vietnamese Lao Dong Party."(56)

In the Political Report, read to the congress, President Ho summarized the operational experiences of our party since its birth and outlined the proud historic path of our party. He identified the important achievements of the world revolution during the first half of the 20th century and the beautiful expectations of our country's revolution.

President Ho affirmed that the resistance war line of our party is completely correct. He identified the strong points and weaknesses of the cadres and party members, and criticized mistaken tendencies such as pessimism, despair, or impetuous subjectivity. The report exposed the scheme of the U.S. imperialists to intervene deeply in Indochina and identified as our primary slogan: "Wipe out the French colonialists and defeat the American interventionists, achieve complete independence and unity, and preserve world peace."(57)

Analyzing the new situation and task, President Ho emphasized the need to develop the forces in every respect, paying special attention to strengthening the solidarity of all the people and to developing the patriotic traditions of the people in order to bring the resistance war to victory. He said: "Our people have an ardent love of country. This
is our precious tradition. Whenever the country has been invaded, that spirit has boiled up into an extremely powerful and great tide and overcome all of the dangers and difficulties and inundated all of the country-sellers and country-stealers."(58)

President Ho clearly pointed out the need to expand friendly relations with fraternal countries and progressive people throughout the world and to seek to aid the national salvation resistance wars of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos, moving ahead to the establishment of the Front of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Lao Peoples. The decisive problem in completing the aforementioned tasks was that of endeavoring to consolidate and develop the party, to bring the party into overt operation, and to uphold its role in leading the resistance war and national construction effort to complete victory.

The Political Program of the Vietnamese Lao Dong Party, which was approved by the congress, was a consolidation of the major ideas in the Political Report of President Ho and the report by Truong Chinh entitled Discussion of the Vietnamese Revolution. It affirmed the people's democratic national revolutionary line of moving ahead to socialism in Vietnam. The congress elected a new Party Central Committee and unanimously elected President Ho as President of the Party and Truong Chinh was re-elected Secretary General of the Party.

Carrying out the program to enlarge and strengthen the national solidarity bloc, on 3 March 1951, the Viet Minh and Lien Viet held a congress and decided to merge into one front. The problem of national solidarity was of decisive importance to the victory of the resistance war against France. As a resistance war became more fierce and severe, it became increasingly necessary for the united national front to be consolidated and expanded on the basis of a strong worker-peasant alliance. President Ho advocated uniting all of our people who could be united, winning over all of our people who could be won over, and assembling all strata of people, all political parties, all mass organizations, all nationalities, all religious faiths, and all patriotic individuals in a broad united national front. He emphasized that the front must achieve close and long-term solidarity, carry out criticism and self-criticism, and achieve mutual love and assistance so that everyone could progress together. The united national front, based on a strong worker-peasant alliance and led by the party, was one of the factors determining the victory of the resistance war. Recapitulating the experiences in the process of carrying out the policy of large national solidarity, President Ho proclaimed a famous slogan:

"Solidarity, solidarity, great solidarity, Success, success, great success!"

Under the leadership of President Ho and the Party Central Committee, the all-people solidarity bloc became the strong pillar of the people's
democratic government and, at the same time, became a steel mesh spread around the imperialists and their clique of henchmen. Speaking at this historic congress, President Ho said: "The happiness today is the common happiness of all the people and of the congress but for me it is a happiness which is both easy to understand and difficult to describe. One who struggled with you for so many years to achieve the all-people great solidarity bloc today sees a forest of solidarity trees which have blossomed. The roots of the trees in that forest are extending deeply and spreading throughout all the people. That forest has a glorious future."(59)

After 1951, our resistance war forces grew in every respect, particularly militarily. Our army and people actively conducted major campaigns and drove the enemy forces deeper and deeper into a defensive posture. For its part, the enemy carried out more pernicious schemes and tactics in the hope of freeing itself from its desperate plight. In view of the urgent demands of the situation when the resistance war entered its decisive stage, President Ho and the Party Central Committee in 1952 advocated launching a campaign to reorganize the party, reorganize the armed forces, and reorganize the mass program with a view to raising the political and ideological level of the cadres, party members, armed forces, and mass organizations, helping them to thoroughly understand the people's national democratic revolutionary line and the policy on a prolonged, self-reliant resistance war, and helping them to distinguish clearly between us, our friends, and our enemies, and to overcome individualism, fear of sacrifices, and fear of prolonged and arduous fighting and so forth. President Ho attentively monitored the re-education classes. He made speeches or wrote letters reminding everyone to study and to resolutely improve in order to be worthy of the confidence and the trust of the party and people, bringing the resistance war to victory and the national construction tasks to success.

In addition to stepping up the resistance war, President Ho and the Party Central Committee devoted the utmost attention to developing the power of the people, particularly the peasants, because the "peasants are a very large force of the people and a very loyal ally of the working class."

"In order for the resistance war and national construction tasks to succeed and in order to have real independence and unity, it is necessary to rely on the forces of the peasants."(60)

In the course of the resistance war, President Ho and the Party Central Committee advocated the execution of rent reduction policies, interest reduction policies, and many other policies, particularly agricultural tax policies, in order to limit the exploitation of the landlords, develop the forces of the peasants, and build up and strengthen the strong rear area of the resistance war.
However, when the resistance war developed to the decisive stage, it was necessary to carry out the slogan of "land to the tiller" in order to strengthen and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, develop the power of the people, and propel the resistance war to victory. In 1953, President Ho and the Party Central Committee decided to mobilize the masses, to radically reduce rents, to reduce interests, and to carry out land reform right during the resistance war. In December 1953, the National Assembly, presided over by President Ho, approved the land reform law. Describing the significance of land reform, President Ho said: "It is necessary to liberate the peasant from the yoke of feudalism and to develop the peasant in order to be able to mobilize all of those great forces so that the resistance war can achieve victory."(61) President Ho and the Party Central Committee outlined the class line of the party in the rural areas as follows: to rely totally on the poor peasants, to closely unite with the middle-level peasants, to unite with the rich peasants, to wipe out the system of feudal exploitation systematically and discriminately, to develop production, and to intensify the resistance war.

Because of that correct program, the resistance war force of millions of peasants was vigorously mobilized, the worker-peasant alliance was strengthened, the people's democratic government and the united national front were consolidated, agricultural production was expanded, and the fighting power of the armed forces was elevated to an unprecedented level.

In the winter and spring of 1953 and 1954, our army and people, under the impetus of victory, concentrated their forces to attack the enemy in nearly all theaters from the Bac Bo delta to Binh-Tri-Thien (Quang Binh, Quang Tri, and Thua Thien provinces, Interzone 5, and Nam Bo, smashing the enemy plan to seize back the initiative. In order to destroy the final efforts of the French colonialists and the American interventionists, President Ho, presiding over a conference of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee in December 1953 decided to wipe out the stronghold at Dien Bien Phu. He instructed the cadres and fighters to maintain the following precept: "Be aggressive, exercise initiative, be mobile, and be flexible" and "Conduct sure-to-win attacks." He wrote letters mobilizing the troops and the corvee laborers and closely monitored all of the preparations for the campaign. The strategic determination of President Ho and the Party Central Committee became the will and action of all our party, army, and people.

While our army was encircling Dien Bien Phu in a steel belt, President Ho, realizing that the aggressive will of the French colonialists has been shaken, stated in reply to a Swedish reporter on 26 November 1953 his readiness to negotiate with the French government in order to peacefully resolve the Vietnamese problem on the basis of genuine respect by the French government for the real independence of Vietnam. The victory of our army and people on the battlefield created favorable
conditions for the diplomatic struggle and the French government was forced to negotiate with our government at the Geneva Conference on Indochina.

On 7 May 1954, the great victory of our army and people at Dien Bien Phu resounded as far as the Geneva Conference, propelling favorable developments in the conference. At that time, the Party Central Committee held its sixth conference (July 1954) to ideologically, politically, and organizationally prepare all our party, army, and people during the new turning point of the revolution. At the conference, President Ho stated that the U.S. imperialists were becoming the primary and direct enemy of our people, and advocated changing the slogan of "resistance war to the end" to the slogan of "peace, unity, independence, and democracy." He set forth as the task of all our party, army and people that of securing and consolidating the peace, completing the unification, independence, and democracy, and smashing all of the subversive schemes of the U.S. imperialists.

On 20 July 1954, the Geneva Conference on Indochina ended. The French government signed a cease-fire based on respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Although they tried to sabotage the accords, even the U.S. imperialists pledged to respect the Geneva Accords on Indochina.

As the soul of our people's sacred resistance war, President Ho constantly worried about developing factors which guarantee the victory of the resistance war. Together with the Party Central Committee, President Ho set forth the correct and creative resistance war line and also directly led our people to score proud military achievements, culminating in Dien Bien Phu which victoriously ended the resistance war. For the first time in history, a small and weak colony defeated a powerful colonial country, helping to propel the process of collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. This was a proud victory for our people and it was also a victory for the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism throughout the world. "Vietnam -- Dien Bien Phu -- Ho Chi Minh" became the combat slogan of the oppressed peoples, a slogan in which the people of the world found pride and admiration.
Part VII. President Ho Leads the Socialist Revolution and the Struggle of All the People for the Peaceful Reunification of the Country (1954-1965)

The victory of Dien Bien Phu and the victory of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina ushered in a new period in the revolutionary history of Vietnam. Peace was restored in Indochina and North Vietnam was liberated from the yoke of imperialism. In the joyful victory atmosphere, our people, on 1 January 1955 in Ba Dinh Square, happily greeted President Ho, the Party Central Committee, and the government on the return to the capital after the years of the arduous and valiant resistance war.

In South Vietnam, beginning in 1955, the U.S. imperialists sought to kick out the French colonialists and schemed to transform one-half of our country into a new-style colony and military base of the United States, preparing to unleash war and to attack the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the socialist camp. The U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen are the most dangerous and the most cruel enemy of our people.

In view of the new situation, President Ho and the Party Central Committee identified two strategic tasks to be carried out concurrently: the development of North Vietnam and its advancement to socialism, and the peaceful reunification of the country and the continued completion of the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country. Both those tasks are aimed at the common goal of consolidating peace, reunifying the country on the basis of independence and democracy, and making a practical contribution to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

After it was completely liberated, North Vietnam definitely had to carry out a socialist revolution and to build socialism. This was the inevitable law of development for the revolution in South Vietnam and it was also an imperative requirement of the struggle to reunify the country. Therefore, President Ho and the Party Central Committee identified as the duty of the entire party and all our people that of rapidly building North Vietnam into a great strong and stable base area for the revolution throughout the country.

President Ho also made it clear to our people that the struggle to reunify the country would be long and arduous but that it was certain of success.

When North Vietnam completed the people's national democratic revolution and entered the period of socialist revolution, President Ho observed: "Our greatest characteristic during the period of transition
is the feature of being a backward, agricultural country which is moving directly forward to socialism without going through the period of capitalist development."(62) Based on that characteristic, President Ho and the Party Central Committee identified as the most important task of all our people that of building the material and technical base of socialism, bringing North Vietnam forward gradually to socialism with a modern industry and agriculture and an advanced culture and science. In the course of the socialist revolution, we must reform the old economy and build the new, socialist economy.

President Ho said: "The socialist revolution is designed to eradicate all systems of human exploitation in our country with a view to bringing back a life of plenty and warmth for all our people. It is the greatest and proudest revolution in the history of mankind but it is also one of the most severe, complicated, and difficult revolutions."(63)

He appealed to all our people to emulate to increase production, to achieve economies, and to do all of their work in great volume, swiftly, properly, and inexpensively in order to complete and overfulfill the state plan. He set an example of industriousness, simplicity, and constant concern for the masses. During the years of the resistance war against the French colonialists and after peace was restored, he always worked diligently in accordance with a plan and schedule. He maintained his habitual love for work. His life was simple. He liked to live in a small house. He always wore brown clothes and rubber sandals. When he went on long trips or received visitors, he wore ordinary khaki clothes like those he wore when he read the Manifesto of Independence after the tempestuous days of the August Revolution. He visited nearly all of the provinces in North Vietnam from the mining area of Quang Ninh Province to the Viet Bac and Tay Bac autonomous zones. He visited the workers in the labor projects building new factories, he visited the water conservancy projects which were under construction, and he helped the farmers bail water to fight the drought and participated in the New Year's planting of trees and so forth. His image is a source of motivation to our people to resolutely overcome every difficulty and to valiantly struggle in order to build a new life.

After the successful resistance war against France, North Vietnam went through a period of economic restoration between 1955 and 1957 designed to heal the wounds of war, to stabilize the economy, and to begin to improve the life of the people. President Ho and the Party Central Committee identified as one of the urgent tasks at that time the job of continuing to complete land reform. With the determination of all our party and people, land reform was virtually completed throughout North Vietnam by the end of 1957. "This is a great victory. It paves the way for our compatriots in the countryside to build a life of plenty and to contribute worthily to the restoration and development of the economy, and to the consolidation of North Vietnam into a strong
In order to expand upon the victories during the new phase of the revolution, President Ho emphasized the need to strengthen the solidarity of all the people. Because of the changes in the situation and task and the need to draw new allies into the front, President Ho and the Party Central Committee advocated reorganizing the Lien Viet Front into the Vietnam Fatherland Front and recommended that the front ratify a new political program with the goal of struggling for peace, reunification, independence, and democracy nationwide. At the conference establishing the Vietnam Fatherland Front in September 1955, President Ho used a vivid image to describe the nature of the U.S.-Diem gang, comparing it to a rock blocking the path. When many people joined forces to shove it aside, it will move to the side no matter how big it is or how much it weighs. He taught our people that the U.S.-Diem gang would be overthrown by the forces of all our people if our people learned the lesson of great solidarity and resolved to consolidate North Vietnam and to carry out the program of the front.

During the period of socialist construction and of struggling to reunify the country, President Ho and the Party Central Committee made clear the necessity of constantly strengthening the leadership role of the working class vis-a-vis the people's democratic state and the need to consolidate the worker-farmer alliance, the foundation of the state, and to rely on the masses, particularly the worker-farmer masses, in order to build socialism. President Ho identified as the primary task of the working class and working people in North Vietnam that of strengthening and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship which is carrying out the historic task of the proletarian dictatorship in order to carry out a socialist reformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and commerce, and small commerce, and build socialism, and build the new people, the socialist people.

In order to fully reflect the changes in North Vietnamese society and to correctly reflect the movement toward socialism and the struggle to reunify the country, the National Assembly, in January 1957, decided to establish a committee to revise the constitution. The committee was headed by President Ho. After 3 years of preparations and research, President Ho, in December 1959, presented to the National Assembly a draft of the revised constitution. It was unanimously approved by the National Assembly. This is the Socialist Constitution which responds to the ardent aspirations of our people and clearly points out the proud path which our people are following.

When the economic restoration task was successfully completed, President Ho and the Party Central Committee led our people into the period of socialist reform and of preliminary economic and cultural
development (1958-1960). In order to carry out the line on the socialist
time of agriculture, President Ho advised the cadres to move ahead
urgently but with extreme caution, to devote special attention to quality,
to adhere to the principle of voluntary action by the masses, and to
help the cooperatives organizationally and administratively. On 3 August
1959, he wrote a letter appealing to the peasants to try to develop and
consolidate the mutual aid teams and cooperatives and to emulate to
improve techniques -- these are the two feet of agriculture -- and to
rapidly develop agriculture.

At the end of 1960, the task of reforming agriculture in accordance
with the model of low-level cooperatives was virtually completed. The
campaign to reform private capitalist industry and commerce and handicrafts
in accordance with the socialist model was also carried out successfully.
With these victories, the socialist production relationship was estab-
lished in North Vietnam.

In developing the country, President Ho appealed to our people to
rely primarily on their own power while also devoting very serious
attention to support and assistance from fraternal countries. He always
taught our people that it is necessary to closely combine genuine patrio-
tism with the international proletarian spirit in the people's national
democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution. During visits
to the Soviet Union, China, and Mongolia in June 1955 and during visits
to other socialist countries in 1957, President Ho was warmly acclaimed
by the people of the fraternal countries and accorded expressions of
intense support for the cause of socialist construction in North Vietnam
and for our people's struggle to reunify the country.

President Ho devoted special attention to the development of
friendly relations with nationalistic countries in the Afro-Asian and
Latin American area, particularly the neighboring countries of Laos
and Cambodia. He always reminded us of the duty of the DRV and of all
the people of Vietnam to those people who are struggling against colonialism
under every form for national independence.

Progressive people throughout the world appraised as highly
successful the friendship visits of the delegation of our government led
by President Ho to the countries of India and Burma in February 1958
and Indonesia in February 1959, regarding them as great contributions
to the development of friendly relations among the peace-loving countries
in Asia and as contributions to the preservation of peace in Asia and
in the world.

During the two international conferences of communist and workers'
parties in Moscow in November 1957 and November 1960, our party's dele-
gations, led by President Ho, actively contributed to the summation of
strategic issues and strategies in the world revolution and to the
enunciation of universal laws of socialist revolution and socialist
convention. He was extremely worried about the disharmony which erupted in the international communist and workers' movement, and he helped to maintain the spirit of solidarity among fraternal parties and countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and international proletarianism. At the same time, he attentively taught our cadres, party members, and people to display an independent and autonomous spirit, to develop a genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to preserve solidarity in the international communist movement, and to protect the Soviet Union, China, and other fraternal socialist countries. President Ho's position reflected the position and attitude of our party with regard to international issues and with regard to patiently struggling to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to combat modern revisionism, which is the main danger, and to combat dogmatism and factionalism. He always was confident that disagreements in the international communist movement would be overcome, that Marxism-Leninism definitely would succeed, and that the socialist camp and the international communist movement would become increasingly united and strong and vigorously develop the revolutionary cause of the working class and the people of the world.

In early 1960, in the seething emulation atmosphere of all our people setting records to celebrate the 30th birthday of our party and the forthcoming party congress, President Ho wrote an article entitled "Thirty Years of Party Activities." This was a document summarizing the history of our party during 30 years of glorious and proudly victorious struggle. In that important report, he presents the basic features of the strategic line and strategem of our party during various periods of the revolution, and demonstrates a creative adaptation of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete environment of Vietnam. Analyzing the factors of the Vietnamese revolution's success in past years, President Ho identified the basic elements determining the success of the people's national democratic revolution and of the socialist revolution in our country.

In view of the heavy tasks during the present stage, President Ho emphasized the need to uphold the leadership role of the party, to ideologically strengthen the party, and to organizationally streamline it. Our party is a party in power, and therefore, the party is both concerned about large matters such as economic and cultural development and is also constantly concerned about small matters relating to the daily lives of the masses. President Ho was very much concerned about the political and ideological education and the development of the ethics and life style of the cadres and party members so that they would be worthy of being the leaders and loyal servants of the people. During each turning point of the revolutionary struggle, President Ho and the Party Central Committee regularly held re-education campaigns in order to raise the political and ideological level of the cadres and party members and promptly respond to the requirements of the revolutionary
tasks. President Ho constantly taught the cadres and party members to assiduously study Marxism-Leninism, to consolidate the proletarian position, to love their work, and to maintain discipline in their work. He taught us to eliminate the influences of bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideology, to purge individualism, to elevate revolutionary ethics, and to develop the collective consciousness and the awareness of organization and discipline. He also taught the cadres and party members to try to pursue cultural, scientific, and technical studies in order to contribute actively to the development of the country.

President Ho reminded the party organizations and party chapters of the need to develop their organizations carefully and steadily and of the need to devote special attention to increasing the proletarian composition of the party while also devoting attention to the new forces of youth, women, ethnic minorities, and so forth. He taught all of the cadres and party members to strengthen solidarity and unity in the party and to make the party become a strong and stable vanguard unit leading our working class to victory in the work of socialist construction and in the struggle to reunify the country.

"Our party is virtue, is civilization, is unity, is independence, is peace, and is prosperity."(65)

In September 1960, the Third National Congress of Representatives of the Party was held in Hanoi. In the opening address, President Ho made it clear: "This congress is the congress on socialist construction in North Vietnam and on the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country."(66) He gave an overall assessment of the achievements and the success factors and particularly of the major changes which had taken place in our country since the Second National Congress of Representatives of the Party. Those successes proved that our party's line is correct and that our party is very deserving of the trust of our people from North Vietnam to South Vietnam. He officially identified the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in both halves of the country during the present stage and analyzed the intimate relationship between the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution. He warmly heralded the international proletarian spirit among the socialist countries and among the communist and workers' parties throughout the world which are pooling their efforts in the struggle for the peace and security of all nations and in the struggle for socialism:

"The proletariat are all brothers even in the remote mountain passes a thousand miles away."(67)

In order to assure the success of the revolutionary cause, President Ho emphasized the need to further elevate the class spirit and vanguard spirit of the party, to intensify the ideological education within the party, and to endeavor to study and creatively adapt the experiences of fraternal parties. He called upon the entire party to
unite closely and to vigorously motivate the people throughout the country to move ahead and successfully complete all of the proud tasks awaiting them.

The congress heard the Political Report of the Party Central Committee presented by Le Duan. Like the Resolution of the Congress, the Political Report is a beacon lighting the path forward to socialism and illuminating the way for the struggle to reunify the fatherland.

The conference approved the guidelines and tasks for the first 5-year plan on socialist economic and cultural development, decided on programs for consolidating the party, approved the new by-laws of the party, and elected the new Party Central Committee. President Ho was re-elected Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Le Duan was elected First Secretary of the Party Central Committee.

Enlightened by the resolution of the third congress of the party, the people of North Vietnam became increasingly enthusiastic and confident and intensified the socialist revolution and socialist construction, particularly seeking to carry out three revolutionary campaigns: the revolution in the production relationship, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution. President Ho and the Party Central Committee devoted special attention to analyzing the position, close interrelationship, and impact of those three revolutions and, at the same time, clearly affirmed that the technological revolution is the key revolution.

President Ho devoted special attention to the ideological and cultural revolution in order to teach and reform all strata of working people and develop people with socialist ethics, excellent production capabilities, and high scientific and technical levels. He said: "In order to build socialism and communism, it is necessary to build socialists and communists."

He constantly taught us to elevate revolutionary ethics, to resolutely struggle against individualism, to develop a sense of collective ownership, to be frugal in building the country, to maintain close contact with the masses, and to struggle with one heart for the supreme interest of the revolution and of the fatherland.

President Ho worried about the education of the young people, the people who will impart strength to the revolution, the future masters of society. Moreover, the young people are the ones responsible for leading the teenagers and children. When he launched the "tree-planting New Year's" in the spring of 1960, President Ho linked the planting of trees and the creation of forests with the cultivation of the future "young sprouts" of the nation: "In order to benefit ourselves
15 years from now, we must raise trees. In order to benefit ourselves 100 years from now, we must raise people."(69) President Ho always upheld the role of women, a large force in the work of socialist construction. He admonished us to respect women and to be grateful to the Vietnamese mothers who raised the heroes of the nation. At the same time, he reminded women to struggle on their own to maintain equal rights with men, and to eliminate feelings of inferiority and dependency. He reminded women of the need to have a steadfast will and to assume the responsibility of the owners of the country.

While the people of North Vietnam were moving ahead steadily in the development of a prosperous and happy life, the struggle of our compatriots in South Vietnam against the U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen was expanding and finding increasing success. In order to further strengthen the solidarity of all the people and further mobilize the forces of our people for the purpose of successfully carrying out the immediate tasks, President Ho, on 27 March 1964, convened the Special Political Conference.

In a report to the conference, President Ho said that the courageous spirit of struggle of the working people of North Vietnam during the 10 years of national development clearly demonstrated that the socialist system is very beautiful, and strongly stimulated the patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese compatriots. He commended the steadfast and indomitable spirit of struggle and applauded the successes of the South Vietnamese army and people who, under the leadership of the NPLSVN, were inflicting decisive blows on the U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen and living up to their name of "Iron Bulwark of the Fatherland." He warmly praised the proud victories of the countries in the socialist camp and of the peoples of Asian, African, and Latin American countries who have continuously won in their struggle against the imperialist elements led by the United States.

The appeal "Each of Us Must Do the Work of Two People in Order to Compensate for the South Vietnamese Kinsmen" became the action slogan of all our people valiantly moving ahead to achieve new and greater victories.

While leading the people of North Vietnam to build socialism, President Ho did not for a minute forget about the compatriots of South Vietnam. The people throughout the country can almost hear his voice now: "A day when the fatherland is not unified and when the compatriots are miserable is a day I cannot eat well or sleep well."(70) He symbolized the reunification will of our people. That will was evidenced in his touching statement: "North Vietnam and South Vietnam are one country and blood brothers and are determined not to permit the country to be divided."(71)
However, in 1954, the U.S. imperialists executed their policy of intervention and aggression in South Vietnam, sabotaged the Geneva Accords on Vietnam, and sabotaged the unity of Vietnam. They created a fascist, dictatorial lackey regime and suppressed all patriotic, peace-loving, and democratic people in the hope of forcing the South Vietnamese people to accept their neocolonialism. They committed heinous crimes in our beloved South Vietnam.

In view of that situation, the South Vietnamese people had no alternative to resolutely fighting to protect their own survival. During the darkest days under the fascist, terrorist regime of the U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen, the South Vietnamese compatriots maintained their confidence in President Ho and the Party Central Committee and looked toward socialist North Vietnam night and day.

While the enemy was confusedly and insanely suppressing the revolution, the revolutionary leaders in South Vietnam made intensive preparations, mobilized the masses to carry out partial uprisings, and destroyed the weakest link in the enemy's system of rule, the administration in the villages and townships. "Simultaneous uprisings" erupted in early 1960, signifying an important leap forward, and leading to the founding of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam on 20 December 1960.

Terrified by the powerful and sustained struggle of the South Vietnamese army and people, the U.S. imperialists, in mid-1961, unleashed their "special war," a type of war found in the global strategy of the United States. Developing upon the experiences of the August Revolution and of the resistance war against France, the people of South Vietnam fought with extreme courage, bankrupted every scheme and war tactic of the U.S. imperialists and the lackey puppet regime, smashed the fascist, dictatorial regime of Diem and Nhu, and pushed the Americans deeply into a tunnel from which there was no escape. President Ho constantly monitored and encouraged the victories of the South Vietnamese army and people. He said: "The situation in South Vietnam at the present time clearly proves the unavoidable failure of the U.S. imperialists in this 'special war.' The 'special war' which they are experimenting with in South Vietnam has failed and it will also fail wherever else they try it. This is the international significance for the national liberation movement throughout the world of the patriotic struggle of our South Vietnamese compatriots."(72)

For countless years, the image of the beloved South Vietnam was in President Ho's heart. He reserved an immeasurable amount of love for the people of South Vietnam. This was reflected in his solicitude
for the children who were regrouped from South Vietnam and in his
cultivation of the evergreen tree presented by the compatriots of South
Vietnam. He cried whenever he heard that South Vietnamese compatriots
had been murdered by the U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen.
He was very moved when he embraced the first representatives of the
NFLSVN to visit North Vietnam in October 1962. Because of South Vietnam,
he rejected the recommendation of the National Assembly to present him
the Yellow Star Medal, the highest medal of the DRV (on 8 May 1963).
He hoped that when the fatherland is reunited and North Vietnam and South
Vietnam are one family again, the compatriots of South Vietnam would
present that high award to him.

He never visited the compatriots of South Vietnam after returning
home but his image was everywhere in South Vietnam, in the heart of each
patriotic South Vietnamese citizen from the urban areas to the Tay Nguyen,
in the dock jails and on the fire-swept battlefields. An elderly man
from the mountain area, who was herded into a concentration camp, kept
a firm grip on his picture and, before he died, told his nephews and
nieces that they must follow Ho to the end. A young South Vietnamese
boy, who sacrificed his life in order to save a cadre, was still shouting
"Long Life Uncle Ho!" when he was felled by the enemy. An indomitable
woman shouted in front of an enemy rifle: "President Ho is in our hearts!"
President Ho brought to the people of South Vietnam the light, strength,
valor, and confidence necessary to create dazzling military achievements.
In response to his appeal, the 14 million people of South Vietnam merged
into an iron-like block, defeated every aggressive action of the U.S.
imperialists and their clique of henchmen, and resolved to carry out
President Ho's will:

"Our nation is one nation. Vietnam is one country. Our people
are determined to overcome all difficulties and to achieve the reunifi-
cation of the country and have North Vietnam and South Vietnam become
one family." (73)
Part VIII. President Ho Leads the Resistance War of All Our People Against the United States and for National Salvation (1965-1969)

Confronted by the danger of defeat in their aggressive war in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists madly unleashed an air and naval war of destruction against North Vietnam and foolishly converted the U.S. "special war" in South Vietnam to a "limited war." They thought that they could use the power of bombs and shells to threaten and shake the resolve of all our people to fight the United States and save the nation. But they were badly mistaken!

In view of the serious situation brought about by the new war schemes and actions of the U.S. imperialists, President Ho and the Party Central Committee upheld their determination to mobilize the forces of the entire party, army, and people, to resolutely defeat the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists, irrespective of the situation in order to defend North Vietnam, liberate South Vietnam, complete the task of the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country, and eventually reunite the country peacefully.

President Ho and the Party Central Committee identified as the urgent task of the North Vietnamese revolution that of promptly achieving an ideological and organizational reorientation, a reorientation of economic development, and a strengthening of the forces of the national defense so that North Vietnam would have sufficient strength to promptly respond to the requirements for the defense of North Vietnam and for the reinforcement of the revolution in South Vietnam while still continuing to build the material and technical base for socialism.

President Ho's appeal to "Resolutely Defeat the U.S. Aggressors" resounded like a battle trumpet, stirring all our people to rise up to defend the independence and freedom of the fatherland and to defend the sacred cultural and spiritual values of our people:

"The war may last 5 years, 10 years, 20 years, or longer. Hanoi, Haiphong, and a number of cities and enterprises may be destroyed but the Vietnamese people are determined not to be afraid! There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom. When the day of victory arrives, our people will rebuild our country and make it more beautiful and glorious!" (74)

President Ho had sleepless nights. He monitored the progress of the fighters and compatriots on the front line and he also worried about hundreds of thousands of events taking place every day in the rear area. He admonished the cadres to devote their attention to matters ranging from the digging of underground shelters to the evacuation of the old.
and the young. He inquired about the compatriots in areas attacked by the enemy and worried about stabilizing the lives of the people. He visited naval and air units and sent new year greetings to the fighters fighting in direct combat in emplacements. He symbolized the iron-like will and unshakable solidarity of our army and people.

President Ho, as the founder of the Vietnamese People's Army, constantly monitored the progress and developed of the people's armed forces. As soon as peace was restored, he emphasized that it was the common task of all our army and people to seek to consolidate the national defense in order to defend the fatherland and defend peace. In order to do that, the soldiers must emulate in political and technical studies, must adhere to an arduous life style, and must actively participate in production and wholeheartedly assist the people in order to help develop the economy and strengthen the rear area. President Ho told our soldiers that they must study and train while developing into a regular, modern army in order to master technology and properly employ modern weapons and war means. He made it clear that the factor which decides victory in people's war is still the people, the politics and morale, and our party's line on people's war and on the development of people's armed forces.

Having been fully prepared ideologically and organizationally, our armed forces were ready to fight and to decisively repel the enemy's attacks right from the start. The people's war line of the party and President Ho was developed on a new base with new forms in order to combat the air and naval war of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists. That line was implemented by all the people through attacks on enemy planes and warships and evasive actions, the maintenance of communications and transportation. President Ho's flag, "Determined to Defeat the U.S. Aggressors," which was presented as a rotating card beginning in March 1965, called upon the masses to emulate enthusiastically to score achievements in the armed services and among the civilian populace. Displaying determination to step on the head of the enemy and charge forward, our army and people resolved to carry out President Ho's teaching: "Be loyal to the party, faithful to the people, and ready to fight and sacrifice for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism. Every task can be completed, every difficulty can be surmounted, and every enemy can be defeated." (75)

Surmounting the hardships of war, the work of socialist construction continued to move forward steadily. The economic potential was strengthened and the defense forces developed by leaps and bounds. The socialist system created new capabilities, the extremely great sources of power of people's war. The political and spiritual unanimity of the working people grew daily. This is an epic about the incomparable valor, the creative labor power, and the intelligence of the Vietnamese people. It is the work of millions of the working masses, constructed through the heroic events in their daily tasks. President Ho attentively monitored and
promptly rewarded even the small actions of the masses which embodied beautiful revolutionary qualities deserving of the proud tradition of our people. Since 1959, President Ho presented thousands of his medals to commend the good people and good things in the various industries, circles, and localities throughout North Vietnam. In order to further elevate the impact of education, in mid-1968 he set forth the program for the development and extolling of "good people and good things," using that program as the basic measure for building the new people, the socialist people, who are defeating the aggressors and conquering nature.

While intensifying the resistance war against the United States and for national salvation, President Ho constantly taught our cadres, party members, and people to elevate their revolutionary qualities and socialist ethics. In early 1969, he wrote an important article entitled "Elevate Revolutionary Ethics and Eliminate Individualism." He instructed all our party, army, and people to combine studies with critiques of their thinking and action in past years, to expand upon the strong points and victories already achieved, to overcome shortcomings in thinking, ethics, and life style, and to struggle to bring new victories to the revolutionary cause.

In order to strengthen the latent power of the great rear area of the resistance war against the United States and for national salvation, President Ho devoted very serious attention to the matter of consolidating and perfecting the socialist production relationship in the rural area. In late April 1969, the National Assembly approved and decided to implement the "Statute on High-Level Agricultural Production Cooperatives." This was an important document embodying the lines, policies, and basic principles of our party and state relating to guaranteeing the collective ownership right of cooperative members. In the course of developing the statute, President Ho instructed the responsible agencies to develop democratic discussions, to go down to the installations to seek the ideas of the farmer masses, and to make the cooperative members realize that this statute belongs to them. He revised the draft of the statute and wrote the introduction to the statute while it was being printed for wide dissemination to all localities. He attentively monitored the dissemination and implementation of the statute in the installations and instructed party committees at all echelons and all levels of the government to provide practical assistance to the cooperatives in the proper implementation of the statute.

On the 50th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, President Ho wrote an article entitled "The Great October Revolution Opened the Way to the Liberation of All Peoples" (October 1967). This was an important work of President Ho. In that work, he listed the rich experiences of the October Revolution, a revolution which created
hope for the liberation of oppressed peoples and for the liberation of mankind and which ushered in a new period of history, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. Thoroughly imbued with the teachings of Lenin and with the great experiences of the October Revolution, President Ho drew principle-type and universal-type lessons, guaranteeing the complete liberation of the working class and the oppressed peoples.

These were lessons about building a genuine revolutionary party of the working class, and about learning how to independently and creatively adapt Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of one's own country. These were lessons about the need for the party to build a worker-peasant alliance led by the working class and, on that basis, to assemble all of the revolutionary and progressive forces into a broad united national front in order to combat the common enemy. These were lessons about the need, in the struggle against the enemy of the class and of the people, to use revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence, to seize political power, to preserve political power, to combine armed struggle with political struggle, and to carry out a protracted, arduous, and heroic people's war in order to defeat the aggressors. These were lessons about the primary task of the working class, after seizing political power, being that of constantly strengthening the proletarian dictatorship in order to complete the historic tasks of the revolution. These were lessons about the need for the party to constantly hold high the banner of revolutionary heroism, to build a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, and to struggle to the end for national independence and socialism. These were lessons about the need to closely combine patriotism with proletarian internationalism in the national liberation revolution and in the socialist revolution, carrying out Lenin's sacred appeal: "Proletariat of All Countries and All Oppressed Peoples Unite!"

These were lessons drawn from the sacrifice-filled, arduous, and proudly victorious struggle realities of our people under the light of the great October Revolution. The work entitled "The Great October Revolution Paves the Way for the Liberation of All Peoples" was an important contribution to the theoretical treasury of the Vietnamese revolution and of the world revolution. It reflects the strategic thinking and strategem of President Ho and the radically revolutionary ideas which brought the Vietnamese people into the greatest period of their national history, the period of independence, freedom, and socialism.

While intensifying and enlarging their aggressive war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists constantly mouthed about their "peaceful intentions" and "readiness to hold unconditional negotiations" and so forth in the hope of deceiving world opinion and U.S. public opinion. President Ho resolutely exposed the deceitful tactics of the U.S. authorities and denounced their policy of "negotiating from a position of strength" in the hope of compelling our people to lay down their weapons and reject
their legitimate aspirations. In a letter sent to the leaders of socialist countries and a number of other countries on 24 January 1966 and in a letter sent to the American people on 23 December 1966, President Ho made it clear that U.S. aggression is the sole cause and the direct cause of the serious situation in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia. With a flexible but determined attitude, President Ho clarified the righteous position of our people and repeatedly attacked the U.S. imperialists on the diplomatic front, causing them to become increasingly defensive and confused. Our people's resistance war increasingly won active support from progressive public opinion throughout the world. The U.S. warmonger leaders became increasingly isolated right in the United States.

In the resistance war against the United States and for national salvation, our people are standing on the front line of the struggle of the working class and people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. President Ho made it clear that at the present time in the world the revolutionary and peace-loving forces have become stronger than the forces of war-making imperialism. He affirmed that "the United States has already clearly lost!" (76)

While appealing to our people to struggle for their sacred national rights, President Ho reminded them of the need to constantly remember the heavy international duty which our people are shouldering. Because of that, we have had the wholehearted support and assistance of the people of socialist countries and of the world people, including progressive people in the United States. On behalf of the Vietnamese people, President Ho often expressed thanks for that enthusiastic support. A united front of the people of the world to support the Vietnamese people against the United States emerged. Vietnam became the conscience issue of the era.

Losing painfully in both North Vietnam and South Vietnam, on 1 November 1968, the U.S. government was forced to unconditionally terminate its bombings and attacks throughout the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to hold talks with representatives of our government and representatives of the NLF SVN at the four-sided conference in Paris. After 4 years of extremely heroic fighting, our army and people won a proud victory: the defeat of the war of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists against North Vietnam. "This is a victory of the correct revolutionary line of our party, a victory of the ardent patriotism and of the power of all our people united and determined to fight and to win, and a victory of the socialist system. It is the common victory of our army and people in both South Vietnam and North Vietnam. It is also the victory of the people of fraternal and friendly countries on all five continents." (77)
President Ho appealed to our army and people in both parts of the country to elevate their vigilance, to strengthen their forces, to attack constantly, and to achieve complete victory: "As long as there is one aggressor left in our country, we must continue to fight in order to expel him."(78)

While unleashing their war of destruction against North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists intensified the aggressive war in South Vietnam to a new level. However, the South Vietnamese people maintained and developed their attack posture and defeated the strategic counteroffensives of the enemy one after another. Affirming the determination of our people to defeat the U.S. expeditionary army, President Ho said: "Although the United States is sending 50-odd thousand more U.S. soldiers and attempting to draw additional forces from satellite countries into this criminal war, our army and people are determined to defeat them."(79)

In August 1967, an extraordinary congress of the NLF-SVN was held to ratify the Political Program which was intended to further enlarge the united national front against the United States and to bring the revolutionary cause of the South Vietnamese people to complete victory. Celebrating that political event, President Ho said: "This is a program of great all-people solidarity, a program of determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their traitorous henchmen."(80)

The entire course of development of the revolutionary struggle of our people in all the various stages culminated in the earth-shaking general offensive and uprising at the beginning of the Mau Than spring in 1968.

As President Ho stated in his message that spring: "This spring will be far grander than past springs," the South Vietnamese people and army dealt a lightning blow to the Americans and puppets, won great and unprecedentedly comprehensive victories, and triggered a turning point in the great resistance war of our people.

Amid the deep surge of the general offensive and uprising of our army and people, the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces was born. President Ho regarded it as "a great victory for the policy of national solidarity against the United States and for national salvation, causing the Americans and the puppets to expose with increasing clarity their country-robbing and country-selling nature and to become increasingly isolated."(81)

Expanding upon the victories already achieved, the South Vietnamese army and people continuously launched new offensive drives, upset the strategic deployment of the enemy, and drove the enemy forces deeper into a defensive position and into a posture of encirclement and attack in all theaters. In order to meet the great requirements of the fight and the aspirations of all the people, on 6 June 1969, patriotic forces held
a national congress of representatives in South Vietnam and unanimously
elected the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South
Vietnam and the Advisory Council of the Government. In a telegram of
11 June 1969, President Ho and Premier Pham Van Dong, on behalf of the
Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, sent good wishes to the
Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Advisory Council: "The
meeting of the national congress of representatives in South Vietnam
and the establishment of the provisional government throughout South
Vietnam prove that the South Vietnamese compatriots are determined to
increase their solidarity and to steadfastly fight in order to control
their own destiny, create new advantages, and eventually achieve
complete victory.

"This important historic event causes compatriots throughout the
country and compatriots living abroad to become extremely elated and
confident and causes our brothers and friends on all five continents
to increasingly seek to support us."(82)

With the great victories which our people won in the sacrifice-
filled and arduous struggle during the past 30-cad years, President Ho
reached an important conclusion: "In the favorable conditions for the
revolutionary movement during the present era, any people, even a small
people, definitely can defeat any aggressive imperialist, including
the ringleader imperialists, the U.S. imperialists, if they achieve
close solidarity and resolutely fight in keeping with the correct
political and military line and have the active support and assistance
of the socialist camp and of the revolutionary people throughout the
world."(83)

Our people's fight still faces difficulties and hardships. The
Nixon administration is very bellicose and stubborn. All our party,
army, and people must increase their solidarity, elevate their revolu-
tionary vigilance, develop their fighting will, and steadfastly pursue
the resistance war until completely victorious. In his appeal of 20 July
1969, President Ho said:

"It is already clear that the U.S. imperialists have lost but
they are refusing to give up their savage ambitions to keep hold of
South Vietnam. The army and people throughout our country, millions
as one, are displaying revolutionary heroism, showing that they are
unafraid of sacrifices and hardships, resolutely pursuing and intensi-
ifying the resistance war, and maintaining their determination to fight
and to win, to drive out all U.S. troops, to topple the entire puppet
army and puppet regime, to liberate South Vietnam, to defend North
Vietnam, and to eventually peacefully reunite the country."(84)
Sad news arrived at a time when our people in both South Vietnam and North Vietnam were winning great victories in the resistance war against the United States: President Ho became ill!

In the last years of his life, President Ho, although up in years and declining in health, remained very clear of mind and continued to participate in the leadership of the party and state. However, in 1969, his health rapidly declined. When he became ill, the Party Central Committee concentrated all of its resources and facilities on looking after his health. Medical professors and physicians looked after him and cared for him day and night.

While our cadres and people and our friends throughout the world were hoping that President Ho would rapidly recover, on the morning of 4 September 1969, the Special Bulletin from the Joint Conference of the Party Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Presidium of the Vietnam Fatherland Front reported the sad news that President Ho had passed away at 9:47 on 3 September 1969 after a very serious heart attack at the age of 79.

In view of the great grief of our people, the Party Central Committee issued an Appeal to all our party, army, and people to cast aside their sorrow, to transform their sorrow into revolutionary action, and to valiantly move ahead to complete their tasks in order to express their remembrances and gratitude to President Ho in a practical manner. Like the Brief Biography of President Ho, the Appeal of the Party Central Committee is a document to help everyone clearly understand the tremendous achievements of President Ho and the struggle path for continuing his great work and for realizing his ideals and ambitions:

"As a great patriot and as a loyal student of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, Ho Chi Minh displayed a spirit of complete opposition to imperialism and contributed his entire life to the liberation of the working class, to the liberation of the nation, and to the liberation of mankind, and on behalf of independence, freedom, socialism, and communism. He displayed a spirit of independence and autonomy, creatively adapted Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, and closely combined genuine patriotism with international proletarianism. He reflected the marriage of the finest traditions of the Vietnamese people with the radically revolutionary ideology of our era, the ideology of Marxism-Leninsim.

"His life was a dazzling example of revolutionary heroism, of the spirit of combat solidarity, and of the ethics of simplicity, modesty, industriousness, frugality, honesty, righteousness, and complete impartiality. His life is closely linked to the proud victories of the Vietnamese revolution from the time our party was born until now and his life symbolizes the proudest time in the history of the Vietnamese people."(21)
The state funeral committee established and headed by Le Duan, the First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, decided to have the entire country mourn President Ho for 7 days (from 4 to 10 September 1969) and organized a funeral for him following the highest ceremonies of our country.

All our people from North Vietnam to South Vietnam and from the delta area to the mountain area, without regard to age, nationality, or religious faith, were extremely sad and strongly moved by his passing.

"Our nation, our people, and our country gave birth to President Ho, the great national hero, and he gave glory to our nation, our people, and our country."(86)

President Ho brought to life again the spiritual values of the Vietnamese people. His national salvation career erased all of the shame of nearly a century of heavy enslavement of our people. He was the vanguard banner in the liberation of our country's working people. For the first time in the history of Vietnam, the people of one-half of our country erased all forms of oppression and exploitation and built socialism in North Vietnam. The great revolutionary cause and noble ethics and qualities became one in him.

President Ho's wake was solemnly held beginning on the morning of 6 September 1969 in Ba Dinh Square. Lying peacefully in a glass coffin, he still wore his simple, faded khaki clothes. His rubber sandals, which had traversed countless miles of the country, became a sacred memento in the glass box placed at his feet. Endless lines of people, in orderly procession, one after another filed into the square day and night with extremely sad faces. There were representatives of all echelons, sectors, and circles from all sections of the country who came to the capital to bid farewell to him. There were delegations from the heroic front line which had traversed countless miles to get there and to bring along the sentiments of the South Vietnamese people who remember President Ho night and day. There were representatives of the dozens of nationalities which live on the territory of Vietnam who brought their great gratitude to him for having built national solidarity so that all nationalities could work together to achieve independence, equality, and freedom. Vietnamese living abroad in far off places constantly turned toward the fatherland and also sent representatives home for his funeral.

More than 40 foreign delegations, representing the central committees of communist and workers' parties and representing the peoples and governments of fraternal and friendly countries, came to attend the funeral for President Ho and to share the grief of our party and people.
Solemn commemorations for President Ho were held in Hanoi and in all areas of North Vietnam. Each agency and family set aside the most dignified place for hanging his picture.

In the fire of war, the South Vietnamese compatriots commemorated President Ho in many ways. On the morning of 8 September 1969, the Central Committee of the NVL SVN, the Committee of the Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and the Government Advisory Council organized ceremonies to solemnly commemorate President Ho in the great base area of the resistance war.

Although the enemy sought in every way to block them, the people in the area under U.S. and puppet control sought to mourn President Ho in their own way.

Nothing could have been more painful for the South Vietnamese compatriots than not to realize their dream of having President Ho visit them! With profound gratitude to President Ho, the 14 million compatriots of South Vietnam vowed their determination to fight, to be unafraid of hardships and sacrifices, to fulfill the duty of the "iron bulwark of the fatherland," and to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their clique of henchmen.

Along with all our people, all progressive mankind expressed grief and love for President Ho. More than 22,000 cables and letters arrived in Hanoi from 121 countries on all five continents consoling the party, the National Assembly, the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the government, and our people. There were cables from the former leaders of socialist countries and many other countries and from the leadership agencies of the communist parties and workers' parties and the mass organizations in each country, and from international democratic organizations and democratic and progressive figures.

The socialist countries and ten nationalist countries held mourning or state mourning for President Ho. In order to commemorate him, the governments in many countries decided to assign the name Ho Chi Minh to public projects and places such as schools, factories, streets, squares, and so forth. The Palestinian Democratic People's Liberation Front launched an offensive on 6 September 1969 called the "Ho Chi Minh" operation in order to wipe out the Israeli aggressors. A number of mass organizations in various countries adopted President Ho's name for their organizations. A number of communist and workers' parties arranged to recruit Ho Chi Minh classes of party members, arranged to study his will, and broadly disseminated information about his life and work.

People throughout the world of many nationalities and political persuasions went to the embassies or agencies representing our country to pay their respects to President Ho, to express their condolences, and
to sign the mourning book. People in many countries organized rallies and conducted mournings for him or ceremonies with his picture. In the United States and a number of western European countries, the masses converted ceremonies to mourn President Ho into marches against the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam.

These were expressions of all of the beautiful, deep, and sincere sentiments of the people of all countries for President Ho. These were expressions of the noble spirit of friendship of the people of the world for our people and of the invaluable political support of all progressive mankind for the righteous struggle of our people against the aggressive U.S. imperialists.

The people of the world have such special sentiments for President Ho because his great revolutionary career was closely identified with the work of our party, of our people, and of our Vietnamese nation which is fighting valiantly and winning proud victories and setting a bright example for the national liberation struggle, for the defense of independence and freedom, and for the building of socialism. The love of the people of the world for President Ho is also a result of his great contributions to the world revolutionary movement and to the international communist and workers' movement, a result of his noble ethics and qualities, and a result of his broad and encompassing revolutionary sentiments for the brothers and friends on all five continents.

His perfect and pure life is a rare example. His ethics and life style are a model of the life and combat of a revolutionary fighter. His spirit, ethics, and revolutionary career even won the respect of the enemy.

The most solemn ceremonies to mourn President Ho were held in Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi on the morning of 9 September 1969 with more than 100,000 people in attendance. Le Duan, the First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, read the Funeral Oration of the Party Central Committee and President Ho's will.

Having bade farewell to us forever, President Ho left behind a historic will. This represents his final teachings and his deep feelings for and strong confidence in our party, our people, and the future generations. His will embodies a great sense of responsibility and an all-sided concern for the future of our people, our camp, and mankind.

His will generalizes to a high degree about the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, and identifies the key issues which our party and people must master in order to complete their revolutionary task. The power in the will is expressed in the iron-like will and the
determination to fight to the end for national liberation and reunification. It is not an accident that the will begins as follows: "The fight of our people against the United States and for national salvation will have to experience many more hardships and sacrifices but it is certain to achieve complete victory."(87)

To begin with, he emphasizes the role of our party in uniting, organizing, and leading all our people in a struggle to achieve victory. He teaches about the need to preserve the tradition of solidarity of our party on the basis of "achieving broad and regular democracy and solemnly carrying out self-criticisms and criticisms."(88) Our party is a party in power and, consequently, our cadres and party members must "really be imbued with revolutionary ethics, and really be industrious, frugal, honest, righteous, and completely impartial. It is necessary to keep our party really pure and deserving of being the leader and very loyal servant of the people."(89)

Constantly concerned about the matter of "developing the revolutionary generation of the future,"(90) he devoted special attention to teaching and training young people to become the inheritors of the work of socialist construction, inheritors who are both "red" and "specialized."

He had confidence in our brave, valiant, enthusiastic, and industrious people and reminded our party of the "need to have a very good plan for economic and cultural development in order to constantly improve the life of the people."(91)

He predicted that the resistance war of all our people against the United States and for national salvation "may be a protracted war and that our compatriots may have to sacrifice much wealth and many people."(92) However, he advised: "No matter what, we must resolutely fight the United States until completely victorious. As long as there are mountains, streams, and people when we defeat the U.S. invaders we will rebuild!"(93)

There are admonishments to our party and passionate appeals to all our party, army, and people to emulate patriotically in order to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and successfully build socialism in North Vietnam, to achieve a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich, and powerful Vietnam, and to contribute to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

At the final moment of his life, he was still concerned about his responsibility to the international communist and workers' movement and to the great socialist family. He advised our party to "strive to contribute effectively to the restoration of the solidarity among fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and a principled and compassionate proletarian internationalism."(94)
President Ho said goodbye to life with a clear heart and without any regrets because he lived his life in a spirit of complete impartiality and remained simple and pure and unblemished until the final moment. His only regret was that he was not able to serve his fatherland, the revolution, and the people longer and more. He has passed away but he has left behind for us broad and encompassing feelings, "the spirit of love for all the people, all the party, all the soldiers, and all the youth and children." (95)

His will is a very broadly consolidated and very highly principled document which embodies the scientific world view of Marxism-Leninism and the communist philosophy of life. That will reflects in the most concentrated way the ideas, ethics, and life style of President Ho. It is a bright example for us to follow. His will is also a strong voice flogging the enemy and causing the enemy to become panicked and terrified. The enemy hopes to find a way to sow confusion among our people and within the party but they have come up against the copper wall and iron fortress of a people who are developing upon the miraculous strength which emanates from their memory and gratitude for President Ho, a people who are determined to maintain solidarity and to fight in order to realize his sacred dreams.

The Funeral Oration of the Party Central Committee begins with the following painful words:

"Our beloved President Ho is no longer!"

"This is an extremely great loss! This sorrow is really boundless!"

Le Duan, on behalf of the entire party and all the people and armed forces, read five iron-like vows before President Ho's spirit:

1. "To always keep aloft the banner of national independence and of determination to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, to liberate South Vietnam, to defend North Vietnam, and to unify the country in order to satisfy his dream."

2. "To enlist all of our strength in the task of continuing to struggle to achieve the noble ideals of socialism and communism which he set forth for our working class and people and to bring back prosperity to the country and happiness to the compatriots."

3. "To wholeheartedly and earnestly maintain the solidarity and unanimity of the party as though maintaining the pupils in one's eyes, to strengthen the fighting power of the party, to serve as the nucleus for the solidarity of all the people, and to guarantee the total victory of the revolutionary cause of the working class and of the Vietnamese people."
4. "To constantly develop the pure international sentiments of President Ho, to wholeheartedly contribute to the restoration and strengthening of the solidarity and unanimity of the socialist camp and among the various fraternal countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and international proletarianism, to tighten the spirit of solidarity and friendship among the peoples of Indochina, and to seek to support the revolutionary movement of the peoples of various countries and to actively contribute to the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, freedom, and socialism."

5. "To study throughout our lives his ethics and life style, to develop revolutionary qualities, to be unfearful of hardships and sacrifices, and to develop ourselves into fighters who are loyal to the party and to the people and who are deserving of being comrades and students of President Ho. Following his example, all of our people and youth vow to try to develop themselves into new people, the masters of the country, and the masters of the new society, carrying President Ho's banner of inevitable victory to its final objective."

The entire Ba Dinh Square and all of the neighborhoods of Hanoi resounded with the iron-like vow. Shouts of "we vow!" are still reverberating throughout the country, testifying to the determination of all our people to transform their sorrow into power in order to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen.

All our party, army, and people, in carrying out the five pledges mentioned above, are actually carrying out the sacred will of President Ho and continuing his great career.

"President Ho has passed away! But he leaves behind for us an extremely invaluable inheritance. This is the Ho Chi Minh era, the most glorious era in the proud history of the people. This is the era of independence and freedom for the fatherland and the era of socialism in our country."(96)

He has passed away but he has left behind for us factors which guarantee complete victory for the Vietnamese revolution. He had left us a collective leadership which he built and developed, a group of his close combat friends and his outstanding students. He has left us a very valuable treasury of theory and ideology, the consolidated works and rich experiences of the Vietnamese revolution during the past half-century.

President Ho will live forever in the hearts of our people and of the people of the world! He will live forever in the revolutionary cause of our people and of the people of the world!

With boundless sorrow, all our party and people realized more clearly their responsibility to try to repay President Ho: "To unite
more closely around the Party Central Committee, to resolutely obey President Ho's will, to persist in and intensify the resistance war against the United States and for national salvation, to liberate South Vietnam, to defend North Vietnam, to reunify the country, to emulate in accelerating the work of socialist construction in North Vietnam, and to contribute to the revolutionary cause of the working class and of the people of the world."(97)

After President Ho passed away, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee decided to launch a political action drive to study and carry out President Ho's will, in order to make everyone more conscious of President Ho's great achievements and career and more conscious of his noble and pure revolutionary qualities in order to increase their pride and confidence and their determination to continue his revolutionary work.

In order to clearly express the determination to carry out President Ho's will and to increase the force of communists fighting under his proud banner, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee on 6 March 1970 decided to launch a campaign to raise the quality of party members and to recruit the Ho Chi Minh class of party members. In accordance with the resolution of the Party Central Committee, the youth, teenagers, and children's organizations in our country were given the honor of having President Ho's name.(98) This is a source of pride and it is also a heavy responsibility for our country's younger generation. They must assiduously struggle in order to proudly continue the great cause of Uncle Ho.

Transforming their grief into revolutionary action, the South Vietnamese army and people have vowed to increase their solidarity, to valiantly charge ahead, to continue to wipe out the U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen, to smash the U.S. scheme to "Vietnamize" the war, and to liberate South Vietnam and unify the fatherland.

Transforming their grief into revolutionary action, the people of North Vietnam are intensifying the patriotic emulation movement, achieving increasingly higher labor productivity and operational efficiency, striving to protect and develop socialism in North Vietnam, standing shoulder to shoulder with their South Vietnamese compatriots in the resistance war for national salvation, and completing the duty of the great rear area to the heroic, great front line.

Extremely grief-stricken about President Ho, we are determined to realize at all costs his final hope: "All our party and people are determined to struggle to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich, and powerful Vietnam and to make a worthy contribution to the cause of world revolution."(99)
Conclusion

President Ho Chi Minh contributed his entire life to the revolutionary cause of our people and the people of the world. The great victory of the Vietnamese revolution is closely linked to the intensely active, arduous, and sacrificial but extremely glorious and proud life of President Ho, the great national hero, the extremely beloved leader of the working class and of all the people of Vietnam, an outstanding fighter, and an outstanding activist in the international communist movement and the national liberation movement. The prouder we are of President Ho, the prouder we are of our glorious party, our heroic people, and our industrious, intelligent, and courageous people.

His noble ideas and ethics will forever light the way for us to valiantly move ahead.

In order to express our remembrance of and gratitude to President Ho on the 80th anniversary of his birth, all our party, army, and people must seek to study his ideas, ethics, and life style and to carry out his sacred will and the five pledges of the Party Central Committee.

We vow to strengthen solidarity, to increase revolutionary vigilance, to struggle, to overcome difficulties, and to move ahead steadily along the revolutionary path of President Ho, continuing to successfully realize his noble ideals and dreams.

We will always remember, we will always be grateful for the great President Ho Chi Minh!
FOOTNOTES


(2) To support King Nam Nghi against France.

(3) See the article entitled "Meeting Uncle Ho in Paris" by Bui Lam in the book Bác Ho ("Uncle Ho"), the Văn Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 37.


(6) ibid.

(7) The book The Condemnation of the French Colonial System was written by President Ho in 1921 and, in 1925, was published in France. Two other books by him during the period 1921-1926 were assembled by the Su That Publishing House and printed in two volumes: Len An Chu Nghia Thúc Dan ("The Condemnation of Colonialism") (1959) and Day "Cong Ly" Cua Thúc Dan Phap O Dong Duong ("The 'Justice' of the French Colonialists in Indochina") (1962).


(15) ibid.


(22) Tran Dan Tien: Stories About the Life and Activities of President Ho, the Van Hoc Publishing House, 1969, p 61.

(23) Tam Tam Xa is a revolutionary organization of Vietnamese people in Canton which was led by such revolutionaries as Phan Hong Thai, Le Hong Phong, Ho Gung Mau, and Tan Anh, and so forth.

(24) Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Report to the Presidium of the Communist International" on 19 December 1924 (Documents of the Historical Research Department of the Party Central Committee).

(25) Statements in quotation marks in this section are all taken from President Ho's book Duong Cach Mang ("The Path of Revolution").

(27) Nguyen Ai Quoc: "The Red Nghe-Tinh" written on 19 February 1931 (Documents of the Historical Research Department of the Party Central Committee).


(30) i.e., the united national front against imperialism.


(32) i.e., during the period that the Popular Front Government was in power in France.


(34) ibid.

(35) ibid.


(37) ibid.


(40) ibid.

(41) ibid.
(42) "The Directive Establishing the Vietnamese Liberation Army Propa-
ganda Unit," Party Documents, the 1939-1945 volume, pp 459-460.

(43) Excerpts from "Letter from Ho Chi Minh to the Compatriots in

(44) Vo Nguyen Giap: "Born from the People," printed in the book
Nhan Dan Ta Rat Anh Hung ("Our People are Very Heroic"), Van Hoc

(45) Excerpt from the "Resolution of the National Congress," Party
Documents, 1939-1945 volume, p 557.

(46) Ho Chi Minh: Tuyen Tap ("Selected Works"), Su That Publishing

(47) Ho Chi Minh: Tuyen Hgon Boc Lap ("The Manifesto of Independence"),
Party Documents, 1939-1945 volume, p 574.

(48) Ho Chi Minh: "Thirty Years of Party Activities," Appeals, Volume VI,

(49) Ho Chi Minh: "Self-Criticism," Appeals, Su That Publishing House,

(50) Ho Chi Minh: "Letter Sent to the Compatriots Throughout the
Country on Striving to Combat Hunger," Appeals, Su That Publishing

(51) Ho Chi Minh: Fontainebleau Diary, Documents of the Historical
Department of the Party Central Committee.

(52) Ho Chi Minh: "National Resistance War Appeal," Appeals, Su That

(53) Ho Chi Minh: "Poems Celebrating Tet" (the Ky Suu spring in 1949),

(54) Ho Chi Minh: Sua Doi Loi Lam Viec ("Modifying the Methods of

(55) Ho Chi Minh: Gui Nam Xu Chien Si Dan Quan Tu Ve Va Du Kich Toan
Quoc ("To the Men and Women Militia, Self-Defense, and Guerrilla
Fighters Throughout the Country"), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi,
1958, Volume I, p 179.

(56) Ho Chi Minh: "Letter to the Reserve Congress," Documents from the
second national congress of representatives of the party, pub-
lished by the Historical Research Department of the Party Central
(57) Ho Chi Minh: "Political Report" at the second national congress of representatives, the documents of the second national congress of representatives of the party published by the Historical Department of the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1965, pp 41-42.

(58) Ibid.


(63) Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the Opening of the Eighth Meeting of the National Assembly (16 April 1958)," ibid, p 677.

(64) Ho Chi Minh: "Letter to the Rural Compatriots and Cadres on the Occasion of the Virtual Success of Land Reform in North Vietnam," ibid, p 599.

(65) Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the Opening of the Ceremonies to Commemorate the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the Party," ibid, p 767.


(67) Ibid.


(70) Ho Chi Minh: "Statement to the National Assembly After Returning from the Talks in France (23 October 1946)," Túvén Tâp ("Selected Works"), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 244.
(71) Ho Chi Minh: "Speech Celebrating the New Year and the Return of the Party Central Committee and the Government to the Capital (1 January 1955)," ibid, p 512.


(75) Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at Ceremonies Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the Vietnamese People's Army," Nhan Dan (''The People''), the 23 December 1964 issue.

(76) Ho Chi Minh: "Speech at the Rally Commemorating the Founding of the Vietnamese People's Army (22 December 1944) and the National Resistance Day (19 December 1946)," Nhan Dan (''The People''), the 26 December 1967 issue.


(78) ibid.

(79) Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal at the Second Session of the National Assembly, Third Term," Nhan Dan (''The People''), the 13 April 1965 issue.


(82) "The Congratulatory Cable from President Ho and Premier Pham Van Dong to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and to the Government Advisory Council," Nhan Dan (''The People''), the 12 June 1969 issue.


(87) Excerpts from President Ho’s Will.

(88,89,90,91,92,93,94,95) ibid.

(96) "The Funeral Oration of the Party Central Committee".


(98) The Vietnamese Lao Dong Youth Group is now the Ho Chi Minh Lao Dong Youth Group. The Vietnamese Vanguard Teenagers' Unit is now the Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Teenagers' Unit. The Vietnamese Children's Unit is now the Ho Chi Minh Children's Unit.

(99) President Ho’s Will.

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